# MOTHER EARTH

Vol. V JULY, 1910 No. 5

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EMMA GOLDMAN - - - - PUBLISHER
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Office: 210 East 13th Street, New York City

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# MOTHER EARTH

**Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature**

**Published Every 15th of the Month**

EMMA GOLDMAN, Proprietor, 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York, N. Y.
Entered as second-class matter April 9, 1906, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

**Vol. V** **JULY, 1910** **No. 5**

**ANARCHY—Absence of government; disbelief in, and disregard of, invasion and authority based on coercion and force; a condition of society regulated by voluntary agreement instead of government.**

## OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

THE most damning quality of brutality is its widely brutalizing effect. It is not only the direct participants who are influenced by it. Its power of diffusion is almost limitless; it propagates itself in ever larger circles, charges the very atmosphere, rouses man's worst tendencies, and transforms apparently decent men into wild beasts.

We have just witnessed a striking demonstration of the dehumanizing effect of brutality. It was not mere disappointment over the defeat of the white man. For months the very air had been charged with thoughts of strife and combat. The final result of the fight was merely the culminating point that swept away our thin veneer of civilization and discovered the underlying savagery in full play.

The "pogroms" against negroes, which broke out all over the country, give convincing proof of the "superiority" of the white man. He may be justly proud of his famed love of fair play, broad-mindedness, and generosity. It is the replica, on a small scale, of the spirit of our time, the true genius of America's Independence Day.

* * *

IT IS to be sincerely hoped that the general strike, decided upon by the Cloakmakers, will not prove, so far as practical results are concerned, as completely ineffective as the recent Ladies' Shirt Waist Makers' struggle. And yet the Waist Makers had the best outlook for success—

enthusiasm, courage, and devotion to the cause. Had not their spirit of active independence been paralyzed by the permitted interference of "philanthropic society ladies," seeking distraction for their *ennui,* the brave girls would have won a complete victory. As is so often the case, reliance upon outsiders, whose interest was at best platonic, proved fatal. Coupled with that was pusillanimous leadership which permittted employers to settle individually and to continue operating their shops, thus decimating the striking army and supplying the shirt waist market.

Such struggles, to be successful, must be fought determinedly, single-heartedly, without wasting sympathy upon the business interests of the "friendly" employer. Above all, enthusiasm is worth more than a full treasury, and no financial consideration must be allowed to dull zeal and devotion.

If the Cloakmakers will take the lesson of the Shirt Waist Makers' defeat to heart, victory will be theirs.

* * *

AN ECHO of the Bethlehem strike of last March is to be found in the report of the Social Service Commission showing the appalling oppression of the workers in the steel industry. At the time of the strike, the press and clergy of Pennsylvania were unanimous in their support of Schwab's Steel Company, asserting that the conditions in the plant were highly satisfactory, the treatment of the employees unusually humane, and wages high. Public opinion was moulded against the strikers by the press describing them as an unruly element, dissatisfied without cause. The strike was lost.

The report of the Social Service Commission, dealing with the conditions prevailing at the Bethlehem steel works just before the strike, states that

"4,725 men, or 51 per cent. of all the employees, worked twelve hours a day; 220 workmen had a twelve-hour day excepting on Saturday, when their hours were either ten or eleven; 4,203 employees had a workday of ten and a half to eleven hours in length, generally with a half-day off on Saturday, and 47 worked on other schedules not specified.

Beyond, and intensifying, the evils of a twelve-hour day, was the existence in many departments of a seven-

day week. Twenty-eight per cent. of all employees worked regularly seven days in the week, but in addition were those who worked on Sundays regularly as overtime. While it is claimed by the management that Sunday and overtime work is, in some departments at least, optional with the men, it is nevertheless true that foremen and gang bosses have compelled men to work on Sunday against their protest, upon pain of discharge."

The wages, the report further states, averaged less than 18 cents an hour for 61 per cent. of the 9,184 employees, or $2.16 for a twelve-hour day. Of the balance 31.9 per cent. earned less than 14 cents an hour, or less than $1.68 for a twelve-hour day.

To paraphrase an old adage, from the tragic to the ridiculous there is but a step. In face of the awful conditions described above, the Commission recommends that the churches of America initiate a movement for six-day legislation.

As long as labor will continue supinely suffering such terrible exploitation, waiting for some legislative or religious Messiah to lead it from the Canaan of capitalism, it must remain in slavery. Their own initiative alone will ever accomplish results for the workingmen. In coöperation with others of their class, in national industrial organization, in energetic direct action lies the path of their emancipation.

* * *

THE Federal government does not only prescribe what state of mind, with regard to political and social views, one must have in order to be admitted into this our blessed land of liberty. It goes much further; to the very bedchamber, in fact, investigating one's night sheets, so to speak.

The deportation of the young Mexican, Casimir Carcassone, because his traveling companion was an unmarried young woman, is as despicable an invasion of personal privacy as even Turkey would not be guilty of. There is nothing more dastardly than to pry into one's intimate life. No decent man could be guilty of such gross indelicacy. No old-world government, however soulless and despotic otherwise, would be so presumptive. It has been left for the government of the "freest people

on earth" to assume the rôle of the bedroom bloodhound, the Sherlock Holmes of the Bedpan.

Unfortunately, the character of the government is but the expression of the country's hypocricy, cant, and unctious phariseeism.

* * *

THE so-called Boy Scout movement is the latest manifestation of our growing militarism. True, its promoters are anxiously assuring the public that the paternal object of the organization is merely "to take the boys into the fresh air and give them manly attributes." But there is a different significance in the further declaration that "the movement recognizes that *excessive peace* may be more disastrous and dangerous than war."

"Excessive peace" is undoubtedly a most ingenious characterization, equally descriptive of our ever-increasing preparations for wholesale slaughter, race antagonisms, industrial and commercial strife. It sounds the keynote of the Boy Scouts, who—we are further informed—are to be taught, among other things, "how to track a man or animal across the country," and that "the scout oath and law stand for patriotism, obedience, and discipline."

The real purpose of the movement is thus evident. Capitalism clearly realizes the looming danger of popular discontent. The chains of bondage are to be riveted more firmly by enslaving the minds of pliable youth, thus directing the tide of potential rebellion into the channels of arrogant jingoism. The young army could subsequently also be employed against dissatisfied labor.

But 'tis a two-edged sword. It may prove a Blanquo ghost to disturb the peace of tyranny.

* * *

THE glory of free America, its prosperity and rich opportunities are thrown in bold relief by the young Greek, driven crazy on the streets of New York by the pangs of hunger.

It is no isolated exception. Hundreds of thousands fill the streets of all our large cities, men and women able and willing to work, even for a mere pittance. But as long as starvation had not driven them to violent acts, as in the case of the Greek, neither man nor God need con-

cern himself about them. They may freely die of hunger as long as they do not disturb public "peace and order."

* * *

EVERYTHING depends on the point of view. The father of a large family, out of work all winter, steals fifteen dollars to buy food for his starving children. He is a dangerous criminal who has no respect for the inviolable sacredness of property. The Christian judge quickly railroads him to the penitentiary for a long term, as a salutary example to others similarly inclined or situated. But the bank president who has defrauded his depositors of a million dollars,—him the wise judge, deeply moved by compassion, declares to be a luckless victim of an unfortunate chain of adverse circumstances.

Let no one accuse the good judge of a lack of fellow-feeling.

* * *

THE execution of Liaboeuf, the alleged Paris apache, culminates a most tragic fate.

In a certain degree, the life of Liaboeuf is the history of his entire class, the disinherited of the world. The child of poverty and ignorance, the victim of a hopeless environment, young Liaboeuf soon found himself in prison for a minor offense. He left the "corrective" institution more degraded and embittered by the inhuman methods of "reformation." In the outside world the young man soon found every hand turned against him. His sentence had been served, but society still looked upon him as the convict, the Ishmael. He seemed the special target of police hounding, ceaseless persecution, and arrests. Everyone was against him; the "just" law most of all. His experiences embittered him. He grew to hate the law. But the law was something vague and immaterial. It was the law's representatives, the actual, visible agents that caused him trouble and suffering. *These,* he thought, were his real enemies, the very persons responsible for his persecution and misery.

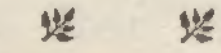
He killed two policemen, and society, in revenge, guillotined him. Pitiful, blind justice, that is eternally avenging the crimes of society upon the unfortunate victims of its own creation.

THE decomposition of the Socialist party of Italy sounds a warning note which International Socialism would do well to take to heart.

The Socialist members in the Italian parliament are, with one exception, professional middle-class men, whose interest in the cause of labor is, to put it mildly, purely academic. Without any conception of the revolutionary significance of Socialism, lacking both personal experience of, and contact with, the workingman's actual life and needs, the Italian Socialist leaders are naturally intellectual bourgeois, thoroughly under the influence of dominant governmentalism. Physically and spiritually very close to the aristocracy, hobnobbing even with royalty, they are in the habit of accepting political favors from the bureaucracy, and soliciting the suffrage of the "better" classes. Bissolati, for instance, the ablest Socialist of Italy, represents in parliament the most aristocratic and the richest ward in Rome, which contains the King's palace, the Quirinal. He owes his election to Monarchist votes cast for him in order to keep out a Clerical. As Deputy he has acted accordingly.

The same practically applies to all the Socialist Deputies. It does not require the conversion of Ferri, the intellectual head of Italian Socialism, to Monarchism, or the significant resignation of Bissolatti from the editorship of the official *Avanti,* or numerous other similar incidents, to characterize the Socialist movement of Italy. The latter is fast becoming the stepping-stone to bureaucracy.

The keynote of politics is compromise. On that rock all Socialist parliamentarianism must ultimately suffer inevitable wreck.



**ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.**

# THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE RATIONAL EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

The International League for the Education of Children, founded by Francisco Ferrer, has just been reorganized. It addresses the following manifesto to educators, and to all those who concern themselves with the formation of the young generation. In view of its high degree of interest, we think it necessary to reproduce it almost integrally.

## WHAT CAN WE DO?

WHAT constituted, precisely, this work of Francisco Ferrer, which a few months ago was known only to a chosen few, and which the heroic death of its founder has now rendered famous throughout the world?

This work comprised:

1. The Modern Schools, whose labor was to bring to the children of the people, in a few privileged cities of dark, unhappy Spain, a little light and truth.

2. The publishing house at Barcelona, which prepared and sold the manuals used in the Modern Schools, as well as books on general culture by the best thinkers of our times.

3. The review, "L'Ecole Renovée," and other similar publications in Spain and Italy.

4. The International League for the Rational Education of Children.

Now, the Modern Schools and the publishing house are large enterprises which cannot be put in operation again so long as Ferrer's property, at present under sequestration, shall not have been sold. Moreover, these enterprises are chiefly the concern of our Spanish friends.

The review itself, although we have been hoping to have it reappear within a short time, necessitates means and coöperators that we have not yet been able to get together.

The League alone, then, founded by Ferrer in Paris, in 1908, and whose work suffered no interruption till a few months since, may, from now on, resume its action. This is why the French section of the International League for the Rational Education of Children now publishes this manifesto.

THE RATIONAL EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

A league for the rational education of children? But are not the most rational methods for the education of children everywhere applied?—Alas! All those who have studied these questions with complete independence of spirit, all those who have observed teachers and pupils, unhampered by preconceived ideas, know that in matters of education and instruction, there is hardly a place where anything is done which ought to be done.

Unluckily such are very few in number, and that is why the current opinion is that the Education of Children is one of the domains in which most has been accomplished. The majority do not know. Some, it must be said, voluntarily deceive themselves as to the value of our present instruction. The latter, however, is almost always merely a façade, a sumptuous and pretentious façade, behind which are hidden lamentable inutilities or monstrous errors.

It will be readily understood that we cannot offer here a complete criticism of the official school, with its overcrowded classes, as at present in operation. Every one knows that such a quota of pupils is imposed on a single instructor, that the most gifted teacher, armed even with the most intelligent methods, and animated with whatever zeal he may be, must confine himself to what is known in professional lingo as "maintaining discipline."

Almost everywhere the pupils still learn text-books on grammar, arithmetic, geography, and history, by heart. That is to say, that the child's memory exclusively is addressed, instead of his intelligence being solicited. Is it necessary to urge the result of such a method?

Hardly ever, even when it would be easy to do, is the living reality approached. Let us suppose ourselves in a village. A few yards from the threshold of the school, the grass is springing, the flowers are blooming; insects hum against the class-room window-panes; but the pupils are studying natural history out of books!

A graver thing than all the rest: our unfortunate children do not always enjoy the few hours of free recreation necessary to their physical development. Behold them, hardly out of the class-room, hurrying toward the house where they will again sit till evening bent over tasks, three-quarters of which are perfectly useless. It

often happens that between the morning and afternoon classes they do not even have time to eat their meal as they should. Instead, we make them learn lessons on the necessity of physical exercise and the hygiene of digestion.

Nor let us forget the question of examinations, that plague of all teaching. In reality, the children do not study; they prepare for examinations. It begins among the very little ones, with the certificate for primary studies. Thus the exclusive aim of everyone's efforts, the teacher's as well as the pupil's, is no longer to advance, quietly and surely, in the discovery of new facts and truths, but on a fixed date, to have handed out—all means being allowable provided they lead to success—a certificate of knowledge. They are content with the sign; the thing itself is held cheap.

It must be admitted, that almost the sole preoccupation is to furnish the pupils certain information, judged, no one knows very well why, to be indispensable. Without, moreover, succeeding in it! Has not a recent sensational inquiry proved that in a little while after quitting school, almost nothing of what it was believed had been put there remained in the brains of our French youth?

Even if our children retained all that it has been decided on high they ought to know, it would prove little in favor of such teaching as is done to-day. Relatively to the present total of knowledge, the school can teach but a ridiculously small fraction of this knowledge. School is kept, on the contrary, in order to give the pupil the means of acquiring knowledge, and the taste for it; that is to say, in order to fortify his intelligence, to provide him with a sure logic, indispensable instruments for study and also to interest him in all possible manifestations of human activity.

Whether you teach history or agriculture, literature or chemistry, arithmetic or geography, you can do it in two ways: in a way to fortify the judgment, or to falsify and atrophy it in the germ; the way which will attach the pupil always to the order of knowledge which you will open to him for the first time, or that which will disgust him with it forever. The school fails of its essential function if it does not inculcate in the child an enthusiastic love of life and of humanity. It is from

this standpoint that it should establish contact between Knowledge and the Child.

Each branch of knowledge provokes its particular emotion, its special interest. To arouse these different sorts of interest or emotion in the child, to arrange all so that these successive "initiations" may take place under the best possible conditions, such should be the first and constant care of the master.

Such are, but too briefly indicated, the essential ideas which our League wishes to defend and to propagate everywhere.

### THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE EDUCATOR.

To this first task, another which flows from it is naturally added: that of aiding the educator to conquer his professional independence. Nearly always the one to whom we entrust our children is an official servant, narrowly enslaved to minute regulations, inexorable programs. Now, the methods which we proclaim as alone fruitful, are, from every point of view, the methods of liberty. Liberty and initiative for the pupil. Liberty and initiative for the teacher. Nothing is more mobile, nothing more spontaneous than the child; there should be nothing more free and supple, less regulated in advance, than school life. He who has charge of a group of children, and is responsible for them, should alone be qualified to decide what to do and what not to do. If he finds it proper to take his class out in the open air for two weeks in succession, nobody should have the power to oppose it.

A great rising breath of independence is stirring through the professions to-day. Whether it is an industrial worker or an employee of the State, he who loves his work and wishes to do it conscientiously, is impatient of regulations and hierarchies. He aspires to become a master in his profession, that he may organize it, equally with those who are exercising it beside him. Educational workers have not escaped this current. They also have grouped themselves in professional associations, in friendly associations, in unions. It is upon these already organized groups that we would like to be able to count, with them that we should like to collaborate to realize this professional liberty of the educator, the primordial condition of all evolution in the school.

The members of these associations struggle often with much courage, for their civic liberty. It is not *outside* of their trade alone, but also and above all *in* their trade that they should demand elbow room. Is it not there that they perform their especial task, there that they accomplish the social work chosen by them?

The majority of those who have thus grouped themselves, have already manifested a certain anxiety for technical improvement, and have given proof of a professional conscience. They understand and they will understand more and more, that the best means of justifying the liberty which they demand, the best means of interesting the public in the conquest of that liberty, is to show, from now on, that they know how to use it to better their instruction as much as possible.

### THE SCHOOL AND NEUTRALITY.

At the moment when the clericals seem to want to resume the old battle against the secular school, at the moment in which discussions about the neutral school are beginning again, we shall surely be asked what attitude we intend to take in the presence of the child, concerning the great religious, philosophical, political, and social problems which agitate the present hour. We might declare that we are pedagogues first of all, confining ourselves to the investigation of good methods of teaching. But we shall not make this reply, because there is something more in teaching than a question of method. And that is why "neutrality in the school" can be nothing but hypocrisy.

Let us suppose that we have succeeded in expurgating programs and manuals of all embarrassing questions. Can we prevent the episodes of social life from putting the same questions, in the form of naïve interrogatories, into the little one's mouths every day? Can we prevent war, crime, rioting, strikes, assassinations, poverty? And when these "embarrassing questions" have once risen to the child's lips, can we give any other answer than that which our conscience dictates, cries to us?

There is no good "neutral instruction," because all good teaching presupposes force, warmth, conviction. As was well said by Jaurès in the last debates brought

up in the Chamber by the bishops' attack on the secular school: "One does not teach what one wishes to, one teaches what one loves." The ardent, the enthusiastic and generous soul of the child, needs an atmosphere of conviction and enthusiasm. The educator should not dissimulate his philosophical and social preferences. We should not hide the fact that we are democrats, socialists, and atheists in the fullest and highest sense of these words. We should not, in the school, hide the fact that we want to develop in the children such an eagerness to live, such a confidence in life, such an interest in terrestrial realities, that there would soon remain no place for dreams about the beyond. We should not, in the school, hide the fact that we would awaken in the children the desire for a society of men, truly free and truly equal, equal economically as well as politically and hence of real solidarity; a society without violence, without hierarchies, and without privilege of any sort.

But in our so legitimate desire to form the young generations for the conquest of liberty and social equality, we must not forget that we have no right to *impose* this ideal on the child, however beautiful and true it may be. Let us not take advantage of the fact that he is almost without defense against our assertions to make him admit, whatsoever it may be, without making him understand it. It is not a matter of substituting one dogma for another dogma, one catechism for another catechism. In this as in all other things let us try not to have the child *recite* his lesson, coldly, but to have him really perceive, feel, and understand the utility and the grandeur of the aim sought. Let us try to awaken his conscience, interest his instinct of justice, enkindle his courage and his pride. Le us remember that our first care should be to prepare for life healthy and robust beings, beings conscious and clear-minded, endowed with a critical spirit, capable of discerning and deciding for themselves; and that it is thus that the school will labor most surely for human emancipation.

*And above all, let us not forget that, in matters of education there is but one right superior to all others and before which all others should yield: The Right of the Child.*

### HOW SHALL OUR ACTION BE EXERCISED?

We have said enough in these general outlines to give an idea of our conception of teaching and of education. And we have clearly taken sides on the different questions of a religious, political, and social order which this debate inevitably brings up.

A few words now as to the manner in which our League shall conduct its practical action.

This action may be exercised:—

1. Through spreading the ideas and methods of the League by means of books, pamphlets, journals, and lectures;

2. Through the publication of text-books and objects to be used in teaching according to these methods;

3. Through lending moral and material support to all attempts to create schools in which the teaching and education shall conform to the ideas of the League, and to modify in the direction of these ideas the programs, methods, and regulations of the public schools;

4. Through intervening in conflicts which may arise between educators animated by the spirit of the League and the representatives of official routine;

5. Through aiding in the creation of Teachers' Unions, and other associations whose aim shall be professional liberation and development;

6. By creating Parents' Societies, with the purpose of organizing friendly collaboration with the teacher in order to improve the school.

### TO MEN OF ALERT CONSCIOUSNESS.

You know what we want to do and how we mean to do it. We cannot succeed unless we have help, unless all those who have understood us lend us their moral and material coöperation.

Above all, let no one imagine that one must necessarily belong to the teaching world, or to the so-called "intellectual world," to enter our association. We appeal to all; and—without, of course, excluding anyone—more than all to manual workers. Is it not they who have the most immediate interest in the abolition of educative practices which atrophy intelligence and anæmiate will?

We want to develop intellectual and moral courage in

the child. Is it not courage which will in a great measure decide the battles which are coming, and which our children will see if we do not ourselves see them?

It is to the militant members of all advanced parties, to the workers grouped in their unions that we turn, to ask that they shall give life to a work which is essentially their work, to help us accomplish a task which is essentially their task.

It will, perhaps, be objected that to realize our ideal of education completely, a social transformation must first be accomplished. We know it. But we also know that even within the narrow framework of present constraints and difficulties, we can do much. Our domain, because it is that of education, escapes to a certain extent the iron laws which elsewhere hem us in.

No human force, for example, can exempt a wage-worker from the material consequences of his wage-slavery. Certain educators on the contrary, more enlightened, more courageous, and more alert than the rest, are already giving instruction in conformity with our ideal, at any rate superior to that suggested by the bourgeois State. Be sure that the number of these valiant souls will rapidly increase if they feel themselves aided, guided, and sustained by an active and powerful organization.

Such is the aim of our League; it will attain that aim, if you but will it so.

For the Committee,

Officers: ANATOLE FRANCE, Honorary Pres.;
SOLEDAD VILLAFRANCA, President;
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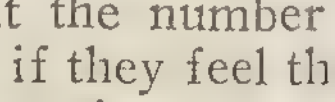

**ANARCHIST—A believer in Anarchism; one opposed to all forms of coercive government and invasive authority; an advocate of Anarchy, or absence of government, as the ideal of political liberty and social harmony.**

## THE END OF THE ODYSSEY

HERE is July, and I am still writing of "Light and Shadows." But six months' touring as an Anarchist lecturer furnishes enough material for a whole volume, were one to relate every incident. The latter may not look important in cold print, but in the life of the avant-guard each little event plays a part in the great struggle.

In Portland our Comrade Agnes Fair proved true to her name. Some day I shall acquaint our readers with Agnes. For the present it will suffice to mention that she is a most typical American woman "hobo," a true child of the Open Road, with the naturalness and simplicity of one who has never lived the cramped city life. Agnes is a proletarian, devoted to the workers with every fiber of her being. Untiring and with boundless zeal she goes like her Russian sisters among the people, into factory, shop, and mine, into the lumber regions, fisheries, and on the street, always knocking at the dull minds and indifferent hearts of the oppressed, urging them to think, to feel, and to rebel.

In co-operation with Comrade Sivin, she arranged five lectures, canvassed every labor gathering and meeting, distributing cards; nor did she overlook any detail that might help to make my visit in Portland a real holiday. Thus, thanks to her efforts, our work was crowned with the greatest success we had ever had in that city.

SEATTLE did not look promising. Though there is a considerable coterie of Anarchists in the Mecca on the Pugent Sound, only one was sufficiently interested to take the preliminary arrangements in hand. The others, I understand, had no end of grievances, which on closer inspection proved, what Nietzsche called, mental laziness. Friend Cassius Cook, however, went about in his highly methodical manner, doing the best he knew to make my coming known. Owing to the difficulty of procuring halls in Seattle, only two English meetings were arranged. But they made up in quality.

At the lecture on white slavery the audience was given a treat which it will long remember. During the discussion I was attacked bitterly by an Englishman, who was terribly shocked at my frank handling of the sub-

ject. With usual Anglo-Saxon cant he protested against the preposterous idea that respectable women should at all consider the prostitute. After the King's subject had closed his plea for "goodness and virtue," a young Hindu student of the University of Washington followed, and in a brief but eloquent discourse he drew a vivid picture of British "goodness and virtue" in India, which kept the audience spellbound. Nothing but intenseness of purpose, great human sympathy, and a deeply outraged soul could speak as that Hindu did.

How little we know in America of the horrors in India, of the robbery, outrages, and pilfering under English rule. How great must be the suffering of the Hindu people if, with their serene attitude towards life, her sons are driven to violent resistance.

Curiosity may sometimes lead to real interest, but those who suffer much from the disagreeable invasion of the curious must needs become impatient and inaccessible. The penalty thereof is that, because of the mass, one rarely comes in closer contact with the individual man and woman. Yet it is only the individual who is of consequence, who adds to one's experience, and deepens one's view of life.

While in Seattle it was my good fortune to meet two women—not the ordinary middle class sort, who out of ennui and lack of stability dabble in all kinds of reform issues, but rather women eager for their own development, and deeply interested in the great social unrest. They have helped to strengthen my conviction that in America women, and not men, will prove the most ardent workers for social reconstruction. Already we find in all radical movements women as the most zealous workers. I say this not because I am partial to my sex, but because the middle class and even the professional man has been made an almost complete automaton by our commercial life; he lacks red blood, without which active interest in an ideal is impossible.

Last year, when the Industrial Workers of SPOKANE began their free speech fight, I was strongly tempted to go to the scene of action. But knowing the antecedents of the majority of the Industrial Workers—De Leon as parent, and the *Daily People* for their baby food—I real-

ized that my presence would have been a hindrance instead of a help. But with the free speech fight lost, and all the boys out of prison, I decided to visit Spokane, if only to pay my respects to Chief Sullivan, the Terrible.

Comrade Dickinson was the one who prepared the battlefield; the "manager" preceded me by one day, yet we found Spokane to be the red-letter town of our entire itinerary. Our success was extraordinary. Though hot as in Gehenna, every meeting, afternoon and evening, brought large audiences, and the demand for literature exhausted our supply long before the campaign was over.

The only incident that clouded the otherwise sunny sky of Spokane, and nearly proved our Waterloo, was an automobile accident. For the peace of mind of some of my "friends," I might say that the accident happened not as was reported, in Emma Goldman's car, but in that of the hallkeeper, who, like most well-meaning people, possessed more generosity than experience—as a chauffeur. Also the railroad company, with usual American recklessness, had neither bears nor flagman at the dangerous crossing.

Twenty years of tramping has, like the outdoor life of the savage, helped to sharpen the senses of our "Hobo." Certainly he must have felt the train approach before he could see it. It was he who gave the danger signal while jumping off the car, a fraction of a second before the locomotive struck the wheel. As for myself, like the infesters of the air, I went up in an aeroplane and down again to mother earth,—fortunately not on my head. . . I was considerably bruised, but otherwise fate seems to have reserved me for a more useful ending. I hope so, at least.

BUTTE is still owned, spiritually, by the Catholic Church, and bodily by the Copper kings. What chance, then, for Truth?

Of the many States we visited, North Dakota is, for its size, the most wide-awake and eager for new ideas. In both BISMARCK and FARGO the meetings were splendidly attended. Particularly interesting was the audience in Bismarck, consisting chiefly of firemen, delegates to the Firemen's Convention. They were greatly pleased when, in discussing Anarchism, I cited the fire department as

one of the original voluntary organizations, and, though now under government control, it still retains the spirit of solidarity and helpfulness. Indeed, the firemen are the only useful uniformed men, rendering the hardest and most perilous social service, yet they have neither as much recognition nor remuneration as policemen; certainly not as much chance for graft, which probably accounts for the sturdiness and decency of the average fire fighter.

The Socialist Arcadia of MILWAUKEE had to be inspected on our way to Chicago. It would have been almost criminal to miss the revolutionary upheaval that was to consist in reformed street sprinkling and three-cent fares. Of course, without bloodshed. To be sure, we found that no blood had been spilt, nor much water, either. The car company still charges five cents, and the police look just as stupid, but a little bit more—class-conscious.

However, some important reconstruction has taken place: the wretched condition of the girls in the beer-bottling department will hereafter be examined by lady inspectors, instead of mere men. Prostitution is to be wiped out by a very drastic measure: the dance halls, which furnished some forgetfulness to the victims of Pabst and Schlitz, are to be taxed by a higher license, or entirely abolished. Thus, Milwaukee will be purified by the old maid, Berger, and the virtue of Socialist morality. But what of economic determinism, which alone is responsible for the social and other evils? Ah, well, so long as it is not responsible for the stupidity of Socialist politicians, all is well.

* * *

And now to the *resumé*. The tour began January 5, closing June 18th. We visited 37 different cities in 25 States, delivering 120 lectures, before a total audience of 40,000, 25,000 of which paid admission,* the balance—being unemployed—were, as usual, admitted free. Nearly 10,000 pieces of literature were sold, and five thousand distributed free. In five cities a successful free speech campaign was made, the expense thereof having been raised at our own meetings. Also, eighty dollars were col-

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* See financial report.

lected for the Ferrer fund, and a small sum for the striking car men of Philadelphia.

During fifteen years I had been lecturing, depending entirely on the good-will of my comrades at large. Every tour brought the same result: small audiences, mostly of a foreign element, with absolutely no opportunity to dispose of literature. Consequently, my work left nothing of lasting effect.

With the birth of MOTHER EARTH and its dependence on meetings, and the necessity of reaching an American public, the lectures arranged by my comrades, much as I appreciated their solidarity, were absolutely inadequate. Two years ago Dr. Reitman offered to do advance work. Though doubting the practicability of the scheme, I accepted his offer. For that I was roundly condemned. What! An Anarchist to travel with a manager, an ex-tramp, a man of unsettled habits, one who wasn't even a comrade. Surely E. G. is going straight to perdition. Too bad Anarchists have no centralized authority, or we would have to excommunicate her.

I think I am not exaggerating when I say that during the last two years I have done better work, have reached more people, certainly more English-speaking people, have disposed of a larger amount of literature, and have helped to make Anarchism more widely known than in many previous tours. The credit for the difference is due chiefly to the zeal, the devotion, and skill of Ben Reitman. I believe in giving even the devil his due.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

## FINANCIAL REPORT

RECEIPTS.

Box receipts, $4,213.00; Literature sold, $1,019.00; M. E. subscriptions and renewals, $300.00. Total—$5,532.00.

EXPENDITURES.

Railroad fares, $515.00; hall rent, $1,175.00; printing, $455.00; signs and posters, $173.00; advertising, $180.00; invested in literature, $150.00; telegrams, postage, expressage, freight, excess baggage, $100.00; to M. E. printer and office expenses, $1,120.00; repayment debts, $250.00; hotel expenses for 5½ months, $914.00. Total—$5,032.00.

Balance on hand, $500.00.

# THOMAS PAINE'S ANARCHISM

BY WILLIAM M. VAN DER WEYDE.

*"Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence."*

—Thomas Paine.

BORN with an unquenchable love for liberty, human progress, and the betterment of all mankind, Thomas Paine left an impress on the world that neither time nor the machinations of religious traducers can efface.

That matchless phrase, "The world is my country, to do good my religion," would alone ensure its author imperishable renown. Paine's whole life was a career of self-abnegation. He cared nothing for money and gave to the cause of the struggling colonists in America, suffering from the tyrannical oppressions of Great Britain, the copyrights on his works, then having an enormous sale.

Paine recognized, as did no other writer of his time, the evils of government. Much of his writing is exposure of existing governmental wrong. Paine was perhaps the very earliest apostle of what to-day we call Anarchism.

"Society in every state is a blessing," he wrote in one of the earliest of his books, "Common Sense," "but government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state, an intolerable one."

Never a believer in government, he wrote, "I am very decided in the opinion that the sum of necessary government is much less than is generally thought, and that we are not yet rid of the habit of excessive government. . . . Excess of government only tends to incite to and create crimes which else had never existed."

Paine realized the reasons government was supported with but few protestants. "Nations suffer so universally," he says, "from the fatal custom of being ill-governed, and the human soul 'cribbed, cabined, and confined' through so many centuries, is so unaccustomed to light, that it may be doubted whether the faculty of distinguishing prismatic hues is yet fully developed within it."

Paine hated war and fervently hoped for the day when universal peace would reign. He pleaded for a

brotherhood of man, and urged that if government of any sort was insisted upon it should take the form of an universal republic—"the republic of the world," he called it. "I have seen enough of the miseries of war," Paine wrote, "to wish it might never more have existence in the world, and that some other mode might be found out to settle the differences that should occasionally arise in the neighborhood of nations."

"The Rights of Man" by Thomas Paine is extremely Anarchistic in its teachings. He ridicules the idea of men of one generation promulgating, enforcing, and following the laws made by a previous generation. "Under how many subtilties or absurdities has the divine right to govern been imposed on the credulity of mankind?" he asks. "The circumstances of the world are continually changing, and the opinions of men change also; and as government is for the living, and not for the dead, it is the living only that have any right in it. That which may be thought right and found convenient in one age, may be thought wrong and found inconvenient in another. In such cases, who is to decide, the living or the dead?"

"When men are sore with the sense of oppressions," Paine says, "and menaced with the prospects of new ones, is the calmness of philosophy or the palsy of insensibility to be looked for? . . . Teach governments humanity; it is their sanguinary punishments which corrupt mankind."

Again referring to government Paine says: "It is by distortedly exalting some men that others are distortedly debased, till the whole is out of nature. A vast mass of mankind are degradedly thrown into the background of the human picture, to bring forward with greater glare the puppet-show of state and aristocracy. . . . To reason with governments, as they have existed for ages, is to argue with brutes."

Paine says: "If any generation of men ever possessed the right of dictating the mode by which the world should be governed forever, it was the first generation that existed; and if that generation did it not, no succeeding generation can show any authority for doing it, nor can set any up. The illuminating and divine principle of the equal rights of man (for it has its origin

from the Maker of men) relates not only to the living individuals, but to generations of men succeeding each other. Every generation is equal in rights to generations which preceded it, by the same rule that every individual is born equal in rights with his contemporary."

"When I contemplate the natural dignity of man, when I feel for the honor and happiness of its character, I become irritated at the attempt to govern mankind by force and fraud, as if they were all knaves and fools, and can scarcely avoid disgust at those who are thus imposed upon. . . . Man is not the enemy of man, but through the medium of a false system of government."

Paine protested against the appropriation by governments of credit for any prosperity that came to a nation. "Almost everything," he says, "appertaining to the circumstances of a nation, is absorbed and confounded under the general and mysterious word *government*. Though it avoids taking to its account the errors it commits and the mischiefs it occasions, it fails not to arrogate to itself whatever has the appearance of prosperity. It robs industry of its honors by pedantically making itself the cause of its effects; and purloins from the general character of man the merits that appertain to him as a social being."

"There is a natural aptness in man, and more so in society, because it embraces a greater variety of abilities and resource, to accommodate itself to whatever situation it is in. The instant formal government is abolished, society begins to act; a general association takes place, and common interest produces common security.

"So far is it from being true, as has been pretended, that the abolition of any formal government is the dissolution of society, that it acts as a contrary impulse, and brings the latter the closer together. . . . Formal government makes but a small part of civilized life; and when even the best that human wisdom can devise is established, it is a thing more in name and idea than in fact. It is to the great and fundamental principles of society and civilization—to the common usage universally consented to, and mutually and reciprocally maintained—to the unceasing circulation of interest, which, passing through its million channels, invigorates the whole mass of civilized man—it is to these things, in-

finitely more than to anything which even the best instituted government can perform, that the safety and prosperity of the individual and of the whole depends."

Paine was an ardent believer in civilization and education. Were men but sufficiently civilized, they would have no need for government. "The more perfect civilization is," he says in his "Rights of Man," "the less occasion has it for government, because the more does it regulate its own affairs, and govern itself. . . . It is but few general laws that civilized life requires, and those of such common usefulness, that whether they are enforced by the forms of government or not, the effect will be nearly the same."

In the same work occur these striking paragraphs:

"When in countries that are called civilized, we see age going to the workhouse and youth to the gallows, something must be wrong in the system of government. It would seem by the exterior appearance of such countries that all was happiness, but there lies hidden from the eye of common observation a mass of wretchedness that has scarcely any other chance than to expire in poverty or infamy. Its entrance into life is marked with the presage of its fate; and until this is remedied it is in vain to punish. . . . Why is it that scarcely any are executed but the poor? . . . The millions that are superfluously wasted upon governments are more than sufficient to reform evils.

"Government ought to be as much open to improvement as anything which appertains to man, instead of which it has been monopolized from age to age by the most ignorant and vicious of the human race.

"When it shall be said in any country in the world, my poor are happy; neither ignorance nor distress is to be found among them; my jails are empty of prisoners, my streets of beggars; the aged are not in want, the taxes are not oppressive; the rational world is my friend, because I am the friend of its happiness; when these things can be said, then may that country boast its constitution and its government."

# THE FAILURE OF COMPROMISE

By ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

## II.

IN the business and political world, as in our social and economic life, the disastrous effects of compromise are equally potent to the intelligent observer. In the mad rush for wealth and power, cultivating our lowest anti-social tendencies, compromise has reached the most deadly expression, resulting in the transformation of a world of beauty and plenty into a veritable Inferno of misery. Both business and politics are based on the stifling of man's higher aspirations and impulses for the sake of material gain, through the compromise of conscience and "success." The net result is a life of hypocrisy and deceit, the outward show of power and wealth, and the inner bankruptcy of peace and life.

Now and then some naive young man enters politics with noble purpose and high aim. He would serve his country, he would correct abuses, and help to lighten the burden of suffering humanity.

But how quickly the idealist is disillusioned! Surrounded by an atmosphere of intrigue and corruption, he feels his very sincerity and idealism the worst handicaps of his success. He soon learns that he cannot achieve anything by antagonizing the circle of his activities. He must adapt himself to the sphere of his efforts to better accomplish results. It will not do to be too radical, too outspoken. Quite unconscious of the influence already exerted upon him by his surroundings, he decides to act slowly and carefully, for fear of jeopardizing the possible success of his efforts. Feeling himself alone, he seeks the support of the "better" elements. He makes alliances, sacrificing a little here and more there, for the sake of his greater purposes. And thus begins a career of continuous compromise, which leads to the utter extinction of his noble aims and ideals. One compromise necessitates and follows another, till at last the young man wakes to find the success of his political ambitions to have been accomplished by the complete betrayal of the very purpose of his original idealism.

In every phase of human endeavor the verdict of experience is that compromise bears within itself the seed of destruction. It is the fire that burns by consuming the very heart, the very soul. All history gives multiplied proof of it. To mention but two striking examples: Christianity and Socialism.

There was a time when Christianity was a clarion call to all oppressed: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden." It was the religion of the poor, the homeless. Weary with earth's misery, they sought the peace and rest "that passeth understanding." It was the rallying cry of the dissatisfied, the disinherited. In the message of Christ they found the expression of their mute longings, their vague hope for better things.

What wonder, then, that the insignificance of a dozen ignorant fishermen proved the germ of a tremendous growth. Persecution and unspeakable tortures merely served to fire the proselytising spirit and intensify the idealism of its devotees. Indeed, there is no truer reality in all the universe than the ideal, no more compelling force than the noble vision.

Gradually the ethical concepts of Christianity were beginning to manifest their influence; the brutal, military despotism of the Roman world became aware of the new social leaven. The ideal of a regenerated humanity was daily gaining new converts, threatening to break down the rotten foundations of Roman society, and that merely by the force of idealist precept, enthusiastic loyalty, and energetic example.

But with growing numbers also come the sense of power and the passion for its quicker increase. It was the fatal turning point. The comparatively slow but lasting labor of spiritual and mental regeneration paled before the allurements of religious, and later political and social, dominion. Christianity was becoming institutionalized. The simplicity of its early communism gave way to formulated authoritarian rule and centralization. With the growth in numbers and strength the Christian Church was developing its thirst for wealth and influence. It began to modify its antagonistic attitude toward the powers that be. It became necessary to give a new interpretation to the

original concepts of the Master. The plain language of the new world-message, offensive to pharisee and tyrant, was dressed in ambiguity. The denial of human authority over "the children of one loving, just Father" was superceded by the injunction to "render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's." The unmeasured condemnation of the rich man as a viper, usurer, and parasite, and the impossibility of his salvation unless he repent by restoring his stolen wealth, gave way to philanthropic platitudes, perverting the sense of the original message even to the extent of the justification and perpetuation of poverty: "The poor ye have always with ye."

Naturally the thus radically changed attitude tended to make the proscribed ideas respectable and acceptable to pharisee and ruler. The latter, realizing the danger threatened by the revolutionary Christ teachings, successfully sought to influence the church into ever greater compromises with the existing, finally giving Christianity its governmental sanction and support, thus securing a powerful ally and emasculating official Christianity of all regenerating power.

Gradual as the change of Christianity was during Roman days, the insinuating and undermining character of compromise is such that, quite imperceptibly to its own adherents, Christianity quickly lost its original impress and finally emerged in the form it now bears: the very antithesis of Christ's teachings. The bitter enemy of show and falsehood turned hypocrite; the torch-bearer forging chains of darkness; the liberating word to "all ye that are heavy laden" perpetuating man's misery and bondage; the emancipator become the ally of tyrant and inquisitor; the servant of truth kneeling at the altar of Mammon; the inspired prophet turned lackey; the would-be Messiah, universal slaver.

Thus Christianity, winning the world by compromise, has lost its Christ.

The historic development of Christianity finds a striking parallel in the evolution of modern Socialism.

Like Christianity, its banner floated the motto, "All ye who suffer come unto me." It made its special ap-

peal to the disinherited, the downtrodden. To these the birth of Socialism proved a rift in the blackness of their social horizon: a glorious sun shedding warmth into despairing lives, illuminating the way of hope and achievement. The grand ideal was the embodiment of man's eternal striving; it voiced humanity's ceaseless cry for liberty, for joy and life.

Round the banner of Socialism rallied the international proletariat. The beautiful promise of a regenerated society proved a tremendous educational force, attracting the best intellectual and social elements, who had found in the new ideal complete satisfaction for their soul hunger.

But with the growth of numbers came the sense of power and the desire for its increase. Forgetting that a world-revolutionizing ideal must necessarily make slow progress, the Socialist party became impatient and cast about for ways and means to hasten its growth. It understood that an uncompromising attitude towards all popular superstition, prejudices, and shams is not calculated to invite the speedy realization of Socialism. Impatience at slow but thorough results led the party into committing the fatal error of sacrificing principles for numbers.

Gradually it began to trim its sails. Step by step original Socialism was stripped of its elemental features. First came religion. It was not deemed "practical" to tread on the religious toes of the people. Religion was officially declared a "private affair." As was to be expected, this renegacy was rewarded by the addition of converts whose religious prejudices would have otherwise kept them away from the Socialist party. Increased numbers, and consequent greater power, developed a thirst for more. Still more trimming of sails followed, more compromises, with the inevitable result that, to-day, Socialism has almost entirely been shorn of its educational effect, the chief object being the gathering of voting material.

And while the party was dealing in compromises and "growing" in proportion, there developed within itself the spirit of rankest authority, suppression, and despotism. Internally and externally, Socialism had lost its original features: it could no longer satisfy the aspira-

tions of true liberty-lovers. Nay, more; it became the hunting-ground of elements thoroughly conservative and Christian, who in turn impressed their intellectual and psychic stamp upon the principles and tactics of the party. The latter thus ceased to be an inspirational force and became a mere liberal-bourgeois political party, the great majority of whose membership have neither ideals nor principles beyond the Socialist usurpation of the government reins.

The clearer vision of the more thoughtful and revolutionary Socialists is not obscured by the growing political success of State Socialism. Too well they know that the apparent success marks the degeneracy of their ideals. The sincere Socialist blushes at the "success" culminating in the Millerands, the Briands, the Keir Hardies, the Ferris, and in the Milwaukee idea. Modern Socialism has been turned into a bargain counter, its high tide marked by successful sales "at any price." The torch of revolutionary Socialism is all but extinguished; the slippery path of compromise and surrender is swiftly rolling Socialism into the abyss of bourgeois politics, and sounding the death knell of a once glorious ideal.

Thus Socialism, compromising to achieve quicker results, is ending by betraying the very purpose of its original *raison d'être.*

* * *

The whole history of human evolution teaches the same lesson: compromise means failure, death. Man has forever surrendered himself for the sake of something external to himself and foreign to his real nature, needs, and necessities. We have sacrificed ourselves to gods, to religion, to humanity, to public opinion, to the will of the majority; and never have we failed thus to draw ever tighter around us the fetters of bondage. Indeed, mankind is the fabled Prometheus, strong and powerful, with a bountiful nature around him, yet bound to the rock of helpless agony with chains forged by the gods of his own creation.

Behold, let us be done with these gods, whose Olympus is crowned by the Jupiter of Compromise. Let us for once dare to be ourselves, to feel and think and act for the sake only of our true self, and in the union of these self-

willed beings, free from the slave-morality of hypocrisy and surrender, let us claim the world, and for the first time enjoy the beauty and glory of a truly emancipated, compromise-free self.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

The fifth convention of the Industrial Workers of the World was held in Chicago during the week from May 1 to 6, inclusive. Delegates were present from all important centers, East and West. Harmony prevailed throughout the sessions, and matters of a routine character largely occupied the attention of the convenion.

Among other minor changes of the constitution was the restoration of "membership-at-large," abolished by the Fourth convention. The change will enable workers in isolated sections to attach themselves directly to the general organization and carry on propaganda until such time as a local union of their industry can be organized.

In the matter of international affiliation, a resolution as follows was passed by the convention:

"That the incoming General Executive Board communicate with all of the European Labor Federations and also with the secretary of the International Secretariat, making formal application for affiliation to the International Trades Unions Secretariat. That the application of the A. F. of L. for affiliation to the I. S. be contested on the ground that the A. F. of L. is not an organization of labor based on the class struggle."

On the persecution of *Solidarity* the convention took a decided stand against the actions of the steel trust and the officialdom of New Castle, and approved of the Press Committee's action in going to jail. It also pledged the organization's support to *Solidarity* in the present crisis.

In closing his review of I. W. W. struggles against the lumber trust in the West and the steel trust in the East, General Secretary St. John says:

"Throughout the whole country a spirit of discontent is at work. Economic pressure is forcing the workers to realize their helplessness, in an unorganized condition, to cope with the modern organization of the employing class. Keeping pace with the discontent there is a growing sentiment for revolutionary economic organization on

class lines, formed so as to make possible the use of the power that is inherent in the working class. In short, the workers are beginning to turn to the Industrial Workers of the World."

* * *

Our energetic comrade, T. Takahashi, is publishing at Chicago an English-Japanese magazine devoted to the emancipation of the Japanese workers in America. Takahashi strives to acquaint his readers with the modern ideas of Anarchism and to free them from jingoism. We quote from that interesting paper—*The Proletarian,* 935 Wells Street, Chicago (subscription 50 cents per year):

Recent conditions prevailing among Japanese workers on the western coast are deplorable. A vast throng flocked in front of an employment agency seeking a job even in mid-summer. The active Anti-Japanese movement for the last three years has been effective enough to drive them out of certain districts and concerns. The movement employs a cowardly and sneaking method, even using means of violence. Japanese are attacked in day time openly on the streets of the western metropolis and no one interferes.

At the same time, what are the capitalists of both countries realizing to-day? They are greeting each other with best wishes over the pacific billows, and do not hesitate to compromise whenever their interests demand it, though they are engaged in hot commercial fighting in the markets of China.

How cordially was Prince Kuny, who represented aristocratic Japan, received in the White House! How did Baron Shibuzawa and his party, which represented plutocratic Japan, meet with the hospitality of American capitalists, as they traveled through every city while you, you workingmen, greet Japanese workers by the throwing of bricks and sneering. However, let these be the affair of the past. The time now reaches us that such a trifle difference should vanish altogether, and we should and must unite upon a common interest against our real enemy, the capitalist class.

Let us unite! Not only in words, for unless our unity develops into action, the emancipation of wage slaves can not be accomplished. Salvation lies in the unity of workmen regardless of race or color!

* * *

The annual congress of the Neo-Malthusian League will take place at The Hague, July 28 and 29.

Reports will be read by members: On the progress of Neo-Malthusianism in the different countries; on the opposition from clericalism, from governments, and from employers; on the obstacles arising from poverty, ig-

norance, superstition, the influence of religion sometimes fatalistic, sometimes salutary; and on the various methods of propaganda which have been most successful in bringing home the principles of parental prudence to the public conscience.

Private discussion on the necessity for, and the various opportunities of, organizing an international propaganda: a complete series of addresses, and sources of information concerning the whole world; free exchange of all publications; the translation of the most useful publications in foreign or in universal languages (Esperanto, Ido, etc.).

Confidential discussion on various scientific questions such as:

What will be the future of Neo-Malthusianism?

How is Neo-Malthusianism received in the various sections political, economic, ethical, and religious?

Is it important or desirable to change the name Neo-Malthusianism?

Has the fear of having children increased or decreased as a consequence of Neo-Malthusianism?

Is population limited more as a consequence of poverty or of wealth?

Should public assistance supply for all children born in poverty, or would it be preferable to inflict a small fine on the birth of the 4th or 5th infant, or should we insist on a system of insurance for confinements?

Discussions on various operations: vasectomy, etc.

What particulars or information would be the most suitable in sending leaflets for propaganda to young mothers?

Are pamphlets, giving full description of the preventive methods, useful or harmful for adults who are not married?

Did Malthus recommend some self-restraint in marriage?

Is overpopulation in the system of Malthus *the* cause of poverty? Or *the* cause of the struggle for existence in the system of Darwin—or is it *one* of the causes?

Among the large number of delegates, the following well-known European social investigators will attend the congress: Prof. Forel, Dr. Helene Stöcker, Prof. Giroud, Mme. Ruitgers-Hoitsema, Louis Bulffi, Mme.

Drysdale, Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs, Louis Granddidier, and Prof. Wicksell.

* * *

Our tireless and staunch Australian Comrade, J. W. Fleming, writes thus about the May celebration in Melbourne:

"We had a tremendous audience consisting of eight or ten thousand people. I gave an Anarchist revolutionary address which was very favorably received. Comrade Mrs. Barnes followed, and the priest-ridden slaves created a disturbance, endeavoring to shout her down. She bravely continued. Then a rush was made to upset the platform, but I had reckoned on that, and made it as firm as the rock of Gibraltar. Seeing their failure, the priest-serfs climbed over the railway fence and commenced to throw stones at us from behind, while Mrs. Barnes was speaking. Our venerable Comrade Montigue followed Mrs. Barnes, but the church fiends were organized, and continued counting from one to ten. Anyhow, we kept going until five o'clock, when troopers rode up and escorted us through the city. The priests are trying to make Australia a second Spain. The Labor Party refused to take part in the May Day celebrations, their excuse being that the committee had struck out the compulsory arbitration clause, but the real reason was the anti-militarism which was opposed to Labor conscription.

"Poor Peter Bowling, sentenced to a prison term in connection with the miners' strike, is still in jail, and the Labor government has made no attempt to get him and his comrades out."

* * *

Anarchist ideas are making considerable headway in the Balkan countries. The Anarchist publication *Bezvlastie* contains a call for an Anarchist congress to convene at Fimoro.

Among the many interesting points on the agenda, the formation of a federation is suggested, to be affiliated with the Anarchist International, which was organized at Amsterdam, in 1907.

# Anarchism and Malthus

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